

A REVOLUTIONARY COMMITTEE UNITING CADRES OF THE HSIN-FENG PROCESSING PLANT OF HARBIN HAS BEEN FORMED

Following is a translation of an article by the Revolutionary Committee of Harbin Hsin-feng Processing Plant originally entitled "The More Thoroughly is the Bourgeois Reactionary Line in the Problem of Cadres Criticized, the Firmer is Foundation of the Revolutionary Unity and 'Three Coordinations'," in the Chinese-language newspaper Jen-min Jih-pao (People's Daily), Peking, 9 May 67, p 3.

As proposed by Chairman Mao, in areas and units where it is necessary to seize power, we must implement the policy of the revolutionary "three coordinations," and establish a revolutionary, representative and proletarian provisional power organization. This authority organization may well be called revolutionary committee. The proletarian revolutionaries of our plant resolutely obey Chairman Mao's words and do things according to Chairman Mao's instructions, and have waged a fierce struggle against the bourgeois reactionary line of the leading power holders within the Party taking the capitalist road, who tried to "deal a blow to the majority and protect a handful; we have strived to unite with the majority of cadres, finally seized power from the handful of power holders taking the capitalist road, and established a revolutionary committee. This provisional authority organization of "three coordinations" has fully brought out the effects of a proletarian revolutionary authority, and obtained great victories in revolution and production by relying on the broad revolutionary masses. For the first quarter, we overfulfilled state plans by 6.5%. The quality of products has been improved, and varieties, production and labor productivity have all increased over the same period of last year. Production for the month of April has also overfulfilled the state plan by 13%, establishing the highest record since the beginning of the plant, and other indexes have also improved.

The Revolutionary "Three Coordinations" Can be Realized Only by Thoroughly Criticising the Bourgeois Reactionary Line in the Problem of Cadres

Chairman Mao has instructed us: "The representatives of various

exploiting classes, when they are in an unfavorable situation, usually resort to an offensive in place of defense in order to protect their present existence and to benefit their future development."

In the great Proletarian Cultural Revolution, a handful of power holders in our plant taking the capitalist road frantically promoted the bourgeois reactionary line of "dealing a blow to the majority and protecting a handful," and did their utmost to divert target of struggle and led the movement onto a wrong road.

At first, they incited cadres against the people. In June of last year, when the first poster uncovering them appeared, they tried to incite cadres by saying: "The devils are out of the caves. Where do you stand? Consider it yourselves," and "Now is the time to test your party character." Under their instigation, more than 1,500 revolutionary workers were encircled and attacked. Among them 220 were labeled "San-chia-ts'un," "rightists," and "anti-revolutionary bloc." Thus a grave opposition between the cadres and the workers was created.

Thereafter, they brushed the majority of the cadres aside and incited the workers against them under the pretense of eradicating "rightist tendency" among the cadres. They said: "There are groups of black factions and black lines," "It is necessary to test the middle-level cadres," and "the leaders must also be rectified." They designated more than 30 cadres above the rank of assistant section chiefs as target for attack, forged evidences and organized the workers to attack them. Two Party committee members were attacked as "anti-revolutionary, because they dared to insist on principles and fought with the handful of power holders within the Party taking the capitalist road. They investigated every one of the cadres under the pretense of "self-conscious revolution." Cadres of all levels in the shops had to be "sifted." They attacked the courageous revolting revolutionary cadres as "plotters," "ambitious individuals," and "political pick-pockets." They also incited people to conduct "impeachment campaigns" and in several days 22 cadres lost their "official positions." All cadres were frightened.

The result of their bourgeois reactionary line of "dealing a blow to the majority and protecting a handful" was the creation of "three doubts and one hatred" against the cadres on the part of a number of workers: first, they doubted if the cadres labeled "anti-revolutionary were questionable; second, they doubted the purity of the motive of the revolting cadres; and third, they doubted whether those cadres who committed directional errors and then supported the rebels were opportunists. Their hatred was directed against those cadres who attacked the revolutionary workers.

Among the revolutionary rebels, there existed "three fears": they were afraid of the term "royalist" when in contact with cadres; they were afraid of saying "support" when listening to the ideas of the

cadres; they were afraid of saying "impure organization" when inviting cadres to take part in the organizations of the revolutionary workers.

The attitude of the majority of cadres was: If one uncovers the crimes of the handful of power holders within the Party taking the capitalist road, one might be labeled "anti-revolutionary" and "rightist." If one openly supports the revolutionary rebels, one might be charged with inciting people against people. Various pressures made them fearful of standing up for the cause of revolution, of expressing their ideas, of participating in the revolutionary organizations, and of contacting the revolutionary rebels. A number of people adopted a negative attitude of waiting to be punished.

Clearly, the opposition between cadres and the people was the serious consequence of the bourgeois reactionary line of "dealing a blow to the majority and protecting the handful." Therefore, how to properly treat cadres is a grave problem awaiting solution in the power-seizing struggle of the proletarian revolutionaries. Only when the bourgeois reactionary line in the problem of cadres has been thoroughly criticized, can the majority be united and the handful concentratedly attacked, and only then can the revolutionary "three coordinations" be realized.

Resolutely Implement Chairman Mao's Policy of Cadres, Seriously Differentiate the Two Kinds of Contradictions and Strive to Unite with the Majority

Chairman Mao has instructed us: "Who is our enemy? Who is our friend? This problem is one of first importance in revolution."

The "Sixteen Articles" drawn up personally by Chairman Mao point out: The emphasis of this movement is to rectify the power holders within the Party taking the capitalist road. The majority of our cadres, in general, are good or comparatively good.

The proletarian revolutionaries of our plant studied Chairman Mao's policy of cadres and the related editorials in Red Flag and People's Daily, differentiated the two kinds of contradictions with class analysis, and saw clearly the four kinds of conditions among the ranks of our plant's cadres: the first kind is those revolutionary cadres who dare to revolt; the second kind is those cadres attacked and oppressed by the bourgeois reactionary line; the third kind is those elements who committed errors but are not anti-party and anti-socialist; and the fourth kind is the power holders within the Party taking the capitalist road. The methods of the class enemy are: to attack the first kind, to oppress the second, to win over the third to their side, and to protect the fourth. What should we do? We must protect the first kind, liberate the second, educate the third, and resolutely attack the fourth.

We have done it in this way:

Firstly we must dare to support the revolutionary cadres to revolt. The more the enemy attacks them and oppresses them, the more courageously must we support them. When they are encircled, we use posters to support them; when they are temporarily isolated, we openly encourage them; when they are faced with cruel struggle, we give them the necessary protection. Moreover, we uncovered the plots of the handful of power holders within the party taking the capitalist road through plant-wide debates. Thus, we have helped revolutionary cadres' prestige and made them comrade-in-arms with the people in their struggle. During critical times of the struggle to seize power, they played key roles.

For example, one member of the standing committee of the Party committee of the plant, an assistant manager of the plant, had waged struggle against the handful of power holders within the Party taking the capitalist road and it was he who first stood up in the support of red rebels and thus became the principal target of attack of the handful power holders within the Party taking the capitalist road. Our red rebels investigated his situation completely and made public the facts, so that the plant's workers understood him correctly, thus smashing the attack on the revolutionary cadre. When the provisional authority organization was established, we invited him to take part in the revolutionary committee.

Secondly, we must dare to liberate the revolutionary cadres oppressed by the bourgeois reactionary line. The cadres attacked as "anti-revolutionary" at the beginning of the movement remained in a state of oppression for a long time. Their image in the eyes of misinformed workers was bad. Even among the proletarian revolutionaries, some people were not clear about the substance of the problem and were unwilling to speak for them. To clarify the situation, we have made detailed investigations and discovered that some of these cadres dared to insist on principles and struggle, hence the handful of power holders within the Party hated them and labeled them as "time bombs"; some of them committed errors of a general nature and the power holders within the Party diverted attention by singling out them for attack. On the basis of the investigation, we proposed that these cadres be reappraised. The handful of power holders within the Party taking the capitalist road opposed this recommendation in order to hide their own crimes. The more they opposed, the more we insisted on it. Through reevaluation, the criminal substance of the bourgeois reactionary line was further exposed.

For example, a Party committee member, a branch secretary of Workshop No 44, had exposed the crimes of the handful of power holders within the Party taking the capitalist road in the socialist education movement, and for this he was hated by them. During the early phase of the proletarian cultural revolution he was attacked as "anti-revolu-

tionary." In one meeting, he wanted to come to the stage to make a speech and was punished by being forced to stand up for three and a half hours and was then chased out of the auditorium. We proposed a reappraisal which was opposed by the handful of power holders within the Party taking the capitalist road. The latter also incited some people to appeal to the higher organizations to impeach this "official." To combat this, the red rebels called a plant-wide meeting and exposed the facts, and finally forced the handful of power holders within the Party taking the capitalist road to admit their crimes.

When these cadres were liberated, they became an important revolutionary force.

Thirdly, we must correctly handle the mistaken cadres. Because of the bourgeois reactionary line frantically promoted by the handful of power holders within the Party taking the capitalist road, many cadres were fooled in the movement and committed errors. When the people resented them, they felt that they were unfairly treated. The handful of power holders taking the capitalist road tried to win them over to their side saying: "As long as I am here, you are safe; if I fell nothing would be left for you." Hence, they were worried and hesitated. We saw that they were both followers of the bourgeois reactionary line and also its victims. An investigation of their backgrounds showed that the majority of them were good or relatively good. We should follow Chairman Mao's policy of "punishment to guard against future recurrence, treating the sick to save their lives" and "unity-criticism-unity." We must educate them to return to Chairman Mao's proletarian revolutionary line. Doing it in this way can isolate the handful of power holders within the Party taking the capitalist road.

To educate and unite mistaken cadres, we essentially did the following work:

1. To combat the idea of "they mistreated us in the past, we must mistreat them this time" on the part of some people, we organized workers in studying Chairman Mao's writings and energetically propagan-dized the policy of "punishment to guard against recurrence, treating the sick to save their lives." The study made many people enlightened. They said: "We criticize them in order to convert them into leftists, not to beat them to death." The handful of power holders within the Party taking the capitalist road tried very hard to win over the mis-taken cadres to their side. If we hold them, we will fall into the trap of the latter. After the knowledge of the people has heightened, they enthusiastically help them, and the condition of holding them has been reduced.

2. We educated mistaken cadres to draw a line between them and the bourgeois reactionary line, between them and the handful of power holders within the Party taking the capitalist road. We pointed out to

them that only in this way could they return to Chairman Mao's proletarian revolutionary line. When they had the desire to correct their mistakes, we would give them the opportunity to correct them, and let them fight the handful of power holders within the Party taking the capitalist road. In the meetings held for the struggle against the handful of power holders within the Party taking the capitalist road, they rushed to the stage to expose problems.

3. We made arrangement for the mistaken cadres to "confess" in front of the people. With the critical help of the people, their thought and sentiment changed quickly. The former branch secretary of Workshop No 43, having heard the oppressions of the revolutionary people by the bourgeois reactionary line, realized his own mistakes and determined to correct them.

4. After the mistaken cadres realized their mistakes, proper work was arranged for them, and some of them were absorbed into the nucleus of leadership, in order to let them grasp revolution and establish new merits in production. These cadres were deeply moved when they realized that the people did not abandon them. Many of them renewed their revolutionary enthusiasm and made new contributions.

Fourthly, we concentrate on our target and dealt relentless blows to the handful of power holders within the Party taking the capitalist road. As our red rebels resolutely implemented Chairman Mao's cadre policy and united the majority, the handful of power holders within the Party taking the capitalist road were totally isolated. The nuclear team of the Party committee which was thought to be an "iron fortress" also began to crumble. The majority of its member wrote posters expressing their break with the handful of power holders within the Party taking the capitalist road. Moreover, they uncovered many problems. Thus, the handful of power holders within the Party taking the capitalist road were left with no place to hide themselves.

A series of struggles has educated not only the broad cadres but also the broad revolutionary masses, and brought the cadres and the people ever closer. The revolutionary cadres and revolutionary people are genuinely united and have promoted the great unity of revolution and the revolutionary "three coordinations." The provisional authority organization of "three coordinations" of the plant - the revolutionary committee - has been smoothly established.

Criticize the Biggest Handful of Power Holders within the Party Taking the Capitalist Road, Further Promote the Revolutionary Unity and "Three Coordinations"

Chairman Mao has instructed us: We must strive to unite with all people who can be united. The proletariat must liberate not only themselves but the whole mankind. If mankind cannot be liberated, the proletariat will not be liberated themselves.

Although the first phase of the struggle against the bourgeois reactionary line and criticizing the handful of power holders within the Party taking the capitalist road united the majority of cadres and established a provisional authority organization of the plant's "three coordinations," a small number of workshops and departments did not yet realize the revolutionary great unity and "three coordinations" because of the residual poison of the bourgeois reactionary line.

At this time, the article "The Bourgeois Reactionary Line in the Problem of Cadres Must Be Criticized" by a commentator of Red Flag and Comrade CH'I Pen-yu's (2058/2609/4416) article "Patriotism or Treason?" were published, sounding the bugle for a general offensive against the leading power holder within the Party taking the capitalist road. The call of Chairman Mao and the Party Central pointed out to us the direction and greatly encouraged us. Our penetrating study made us realize that the most important mission was to criticize the biggest handful of power holders within the Party taking the capitalist road. We immediately raised a new high tide of thoroughly criticizing the leading power holder within the Party taking the capitalist road, and relentlessly criticized his bourgeois reactionary line of "dealing a blow to the majority and protecting the handful" and the poisonous weed Self Development written by him. We organized many large and small accusation meetings and critique meetings, encouraging the cadres poisoned and fooled by the bourgeois reactionary line to rise up. Through this revolutionary criticism, the broad masses and cadres understood the criminal substance of the bourgeois reactionary line and felt that they found the root of trouble at last. The former branch assistant secretary of Workshop No 15 pointed his spearhead to the revolutionary people at the beginning of the movement and committed serious errors. However, he felt that he merely did what his superiors told him to do and his criticisms were not penetrating and the people were not satisfied. The great revolutionary critique made him realize that he was trapped by the book Self Development which made him a "meek tool." At the workers' meeting he angrily accused the power holder within the Party taking the capitalist road of poisoning him and penetratingly examined his mistakes, and the people were satisfied. Some people believed that the executioners of the bourgeois reactionary line were "stubborn" and "trouble makers." Now they realize that they were both followers of the bourgeois reactionary line and also its victims. We must follow Chairman Mao's policy of "punishment to guard against future recurrence, treating the sick to save their lives" and "unity-criticism-unity," and enthusiastically help them realize their mistakes and correct them and bring them back to Chairman Mao's proletarian revolutionary line.

The great revolutionary critique has further promoted the great unity and "three coordinations" of the proletarian revolutionaries. Now all people have concentrated their attack on the handful of leading power holders within the Party taking the capitalist road and the handful of power holders taking the capitalist road within the unit, thus

creating favorable conditions for great unity. Some units that were thought to be difficult to realize great unity are now united on the foundation of Mao Tse-tung's thought.

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